THE

FORTY-EIGHTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Vermont Colonization Society,

TOGETHER WITH THE ADDRESS OF

GEN. J. W. PHELPS,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING

IN

MONTPELIER,

October 17th, 1867.

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1867.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Forty Eighth Annual Meeting of the Vermont Colonization Society was held in Montpelier on Thursday, the 17th of October 1867.

At a business meeting, held at two o'clock, P. M., a paper was laid before the Board, containing the Resolutions passed by the Legislature of Vermont, in 1850, asking Congress to establish a line of mail steamers between the United States and the Republic of Liberia; said paper containing also the form of a petition to Congress for this purpose.

It was shown that the commerce of Liberia is already large for a young nation and is increasing yearly: that England to secure it, has established a line of steamers, touching regularly at Monrovia and Cape Palmas; that there are now some 20,000 Americo Liberians there including their descendants, who have carried our constitution and civil polity and planted them on the African continent; and that we owe it to those hardy pioneers to give them the means of communicating with their friends and factors here.

The subject was referred to a committee, consisting of Gen. J. W, Phelps and Rev. J. K. Converse, to consider what further action should be taken.

The following named gentlemen were then elected officers for the ensuing year, viz:

President.—Hon. Daniel Baldwin, Montpelier.

Vice Presidents.—Hon. John Gregory Smith, St. Albans; Hon. Samuel Kellogg, Pittsford.

Secretary.—Rev. J. K. Converse, Burlington.

Treasurer.—Geo. W. Scott, Montpelier.

Auditor.—Samuel Wells, Montpelier.

Managers.—Hon. Paul Dillingham, Freeman Keyes, Joshua A. Hardy, Rev. George B. Safford, Rev. Wm. H. Lord, D. D., James T. Thurston, His Excellency Jno. B. Page, Gen. J. W. Phelps, Rev. Wm. S. Hazen, Rev. Seth W. Arnold.

Gen. J. W. Phelps and Rev. J. K. Converse were appointed delegates to the American Colonization Society, and Rev. Wm. H. Lord, D. D. and Geo. W. Scott, Esq., substitutes.

The public services were held in the evening in the Hall of the House of Representatives, which was filled with an attentive audience; the President, the Hon. Daniel Baldwin, in the chair.

Rev. Leonard Tenney of Thetford. read the following passage of scripture from Deut. 15:12—15.

"And if thy brother, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee.

"And when thou sendest him out free from thee thou shalt not let him go away empty.

"Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine press; of that wherewith the Lord, thy God, hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him.

"And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee; therefore, I command thee this thing to-day."

Mr. Tenney then offered prayer.

Rev. Joseph Tracy, D.D., of Boston, had been invited to attend and address the meeting. A letter was received from him, from which we take the following extract:

COLONIZATION OFFICE, BOSTON, Oct. 15, 1867.

Rev. J. K. Converse.

DEAR SIR:

It is not at all probable that I could, if I should attempt it, carry voice enough with me to Montpelier, to address the oldest auxiliary of the American Colonization Society, at its Forty-eighth Annual meeting. I regret it for several reasons. I should be glad to meet once more the Society, whose doings led Gen. Harper to say—it must have been about the year 1822—"The American Colonization Society has one auxiliary—that of Vermont;" though the list of auxiliaries on paper was already somewhat large. I wish, also, to meet and congratulate the only state society that has lived and been active through all periods of difficulty, opposition, reproach and discouragement; which alone has never needed to be re-organized, resuscitated, or replaced by a younger, but has retained its identity unbroken to the present time. I wish also to meet the successors of Charles Marsh, Elijah Paine, Chester Wright, Amariah Chandler, Leonard Worcester, Jeduthun Loomis, Chauncey Langdon, Robert Pierpont, John Wheeler, and their worthy and fitting associates; men whose continuous support of any cause is conclusive proof, to all reasonable minds, that it deserves to be supported. And I desire to meet such of their successors as I personally know, because I know them to be worthy of the succession.

But I do not desire to be there for the sake of giving an exhortation. A society having such a history must find in its own reminiscences, all the exhorting that it can possibly need.

Nor shall I be needed to refute recent misrepresentations. They are few and feeble, and you understand them already. The most important is that report from a Charlestown paper, that a portion of the emigrants who went out last November, had returned, bringing most discouraging reports and letters. You know that the number that returned, out of those 600, was exactly *two*; and that the letter brought by them, selected as most discouraging, was from a man who was clearing his farm and building a house, and had not decided to return, and that one of his most serious complaints was, that the circulating currency, government paper, was at 40 per cent discount, compared with gold, which is somewhat worse than ours.

* * * * *

On the whole, I think you will not suffer much from my absence. The greatest loss will be my own.

With my best respects to the society, and to you personally, I remain,

Very truly yours and theirs,

JOSEPH TRACY.

The Treasurer, George W. Scott, Esq., presented his report, showing that $1,031 56 had been paid in during the year from Vermont, and forwarded to the parent society at Washington.

The Secretary, Rev. J. K. Converse, read extracts from the Report of the Board of Managers. This being the fiftieth year from the birth of the Colonization enterprise, he commenced his report with a brief review of the half century in its results to the negro race.

The facts in the case show to the conviction of all, that where, fifty years ago, there was nothing but barbarism, piracy and war for victims for the slave ships, we now have a well governed republic of colored men, with a territory as large as New England; with 20,000 Americo-Liberians; over 5,000 recaptives, civilized, educated and assimilated to christian habits and received as citizens into the bosom of the state; a republic with a constitution modeled on our own, embracing under its shelter 300,000 of the natives, cheerfully obedient to the laws and who speak the English language and are very ambitious "to become Americans."

The Report gave a brief account of the schools, the Liberia college, with its able faculty of liberally educated colored men; of the churches with 6,000 or 7,000 communicants, near two thousand of whom are converts from the native tribes. It spoke also of the progress of agriculture, commerce and the mechanic arts, and of encouraging prosperity in all the material interests of the young republic. What then are the facts?

1. Colonization, as the chief agent, has destroyed the slave trade on some seven hundred miles of the coast.

2. The tide of heathen slaves which fifty years ago, flowed incessantly from Africa, it now sends back with the word of God, to plant there the institutions of the gospel.

3. Colonization has demonstrated the capacity of the negro race for self government.

4. It has given to that race a nationality, a thing it never had before.

5. It has successfully planted the institutions of a christian civilization among a plastic and docile people, ready to receive them and to aid in spreading them.

6. It has provided an asylum for the exigencies of our country in its present crisis, and so helps to solve the problem presented

by the presence of two races in the same land, both free, who cannot amalgamate by intermarriage.

In short, the scheme of African colonization, in spite of all objections, has proved itself to be a grand conception, encircling in its wide and benevolent embrace, a nation of slaves and a continent of heathen,—a plan grand in conception, and wonderful in the success of its labors under the blessing of God.

In gaining these glorious results, the American Colonization Society, in its half century's work, has expended *less than the average daily cost of our war in* 1864 *and* 1865. The cost has been $2,558,907.

On motion, voted that the thanks of the society be presented to Gen. Phelps for his address and that a copy be requested for publication.

The society then adjourned.

Address of J. W. PHELPS.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Vermont Colonization Society:

The colonization of Africa is a matter of peculiar interest to the people of the United States. It presents a wide field for the exercise of those higher aspirations of benevolence and good will to all men, which enter so largely into our political creed and our institutions. It has for its object not the mere improvement of a single country only, but the reclaiming of numerous millions of human beings from the lowest stage of barbarism, and raising them to the light and life of christian influence and usefulness among the nations of the earth. It is a question of the very first importance both as it concerns the philanthropic relations of mankind and the civil interests and social well-being of our own country. The Hon. Edward Everett said of it, that—" whether we look to the condition of this country, or the interests of Africa, no more important object could engage our attention."

But being as it is a question of so much importance, why, it may be asked, does it not command more attention from the government and the political leaders of the Country? Why is our benevo-

lent government so indifferent to a matter that is so peculiarly worthy of its especial regard? In reply to this question, it may be said, that political cunning, which is the chief trait of our leading men and the main spring of party action among us, is seldom accompanied with much capacity or willingness for the treatment of philanthropic subjects, or for the management of the nicer, higher, and more vital interests of society; but it is, on the contrary, rather prone to sacrifice these interests to motives of expediency and party success. In the conflict of parties, philanthropy, which is the love of humanity, and which ought to lie, in an especial manner, at the very basis of our institutions, is not only frequently entirely lost sight of, but is often wilfully consigned to ignominy and contempt, even as was the Prince of humanity himself, the Saviour of mankind, when presented for the consideration of the crafty, truculent Herod, and the cold, politic, and easily acquiescing Pilate.

We are not to be surprised, therefore, at the apathy of the government and the indifference of parties to the subject of African Colonization, nor should we, on this account, be deterred from making efforts in its behalf. It ought rather to stimulate us to renewed and untiring exertions. Under institutions like ours, the citizen should make up as far as possible for the defects of his government.

We are all attached to our peculiar institutions, and there are doubtless few among us who would willingly concede that the cause of philanthropy can be better served by a monarchical or despotic government than by our own; yet we may be permitted to draw a comparison between the two. We propose, in the first place, to call your attention for a few minutes to some of the philanthropic labors in which the English government has been engaged on behalf of Africa; and to this end we proceed to give a short sketch of the *field* in which these labors have been performed.

The continent of Africa, contains some 11,000,000,000 square miles. It is more than three times as large as the United States, and more than twice as large as the Chinese Empire. It has been estimated to contain all the way from 50,000,000 to 200,000,000 inhabitants, though the latter number is probably much too large. But little is known of the interior, either of the country or of the people. The inhabitants of the continent, in a general point of view, and with the exception of a few Turks and the small settlements chiefly of European origin along the sea coast, may be divided into

two great classes, one consisting of Arabians and Africo-Arabians extending from the Mediterranean on the North through the great Sahara desert to the valley of the Niger, near the Equator on the South, abounding in large warlike cities, all being more or less under the influence of the Mohamedan religion; and the other composed of pure Negroes who are wholly barbarous and savage, having but a faint idea of God, being a prey to the most darkling superstitions, and nearly void of all the elements of civilization. The principal islands pertaining to the continent of Africa in the Indian Ocean are Madagascar, Bourbon and Mauritius. Of these, Madagascar contains upwards of 200,000 square miles and some four or five millions of inhabitants. These seem to consist of Native Africans, with a mixture of Malay colonists, who have entered the island at some remote period of time.

Since the discovery of this island by the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century, many attempts have been made by various European nations to colonize it. The Portuguese, Dutch, French and English have all tried during the last three hundred years to establish their dominion over it, and all until the present century have failed. As it was favorably situated to serve as a depot for gaining control of the Indian Ocean and the commerce of the east, its possession as a colony was for a long time regarded by these nations as a great desideratum, so that both trade and policy lent powerful inducements to accomplish this design. The condition of the country and its inhabitants is not unlike that of the continent of Africa itself, so far as it respects susceptibiliiy of receiving European civilization. Like Africa, its low lands along the coast are subject to fatal fevers, while the higher lands of the interior are alone comparatively healthy. Not, however, until the early part of the present century, have the efforts to civilize the people of the island been attended with any considerable degree of success. It is to the English government, aided and sustained by the English people, that this success is due; and it is a remarkable fact, full of significance, that philanthropic designs have been the most ostensible motives of their action, and not exclusively or narrowly either views of state policy or commerce.

Even before the close of the French revolutionary wars, as early as 1807, the English government, prompted by her leading philanthropists, had adopted the humane measure of abolishing the

slave trade; and this benevolent act had undoubtedly given her a great advantage in her struggles against the French. For though the people of France were aiming at democratic rights and privileges, their leader, Napoleon I. seemed evidently determined on establishing a grand military empire, and his mere pretensions of favoring popular rights, therefore, formed a striking contrast with the quiet yet effective philanthropy of the British nation. Between two governments, one of which abolished the slave trade and the other continued it in force, there could be no doubt as to which was the real friend of human rights. One sought to extend the military glory of a single nation, the other to enfranchise the whole human race. Peace found the English in possession of the Mauritius, a small island some four hundred miles to the eastward of Madagascar, which, by one of the last acts of the war they had wrested from the French. This island was formerly called the Island of France, and is interesting from being the scene of the story of Paul and Virginia. While in the possession of the French it was supplied, together with the island of Bourbon, with slaves, beef, and rice from the island of Madagascar. At the close of the war there fortunately happened to be in the governorship of this little island of Mauritius, a man who considered the act of the English government in abolishing the slave trade as not intended for mere political effect, but for practical and rigid execution. Accordingly, on the 12th day of September in the year 1816, Sir Robert Farquhar, the Governor of Mauritius, addressed a note to Earl Bathurst of the British ministry, in which he recommended a system of policy towards Madagascar which should not merely make that island an appendage to the British sovereignty in the Indian Ocean, but should render it a powerful means for extirpating, at its fountain head, the source of the African slave trade in that quarter.

In consequence of this recommendation, a treaty was finally entered into with the principal chief of the island, King Radama, in which it was expressly stipulated that the foreign slave trade should be totally abolished throughout all his dominions; and in consideration of this conversion, the king was to receive annually from the British government effective elements of civilization in the shape of a considerable sum of gold, and a certain number of arms, uniforms, and equipments. As a means of carrying out these stipulations an agent was established at the Court of Radama, a number of English troops were sent to initiate the King's subjects in the rules

and principles of European military tactics and discipline, and, at the request of the governor, the London Missionary Society sent into the island a band of Missionaries to instruct the people in all the arts of civilization and peace.

Military discipline, together with the inculcation of religious ideas, blended with the skilful practice of medicine and instruction in the useful arts, proved to be powerful agencies for impressing the European form of civilization upon a barbarous people. Still, many obstacles had to be overcome, not the least of which arose from the prejudice, cupidity and faithlessness of English functionaries themselves, and the progress made was at best but slow. Yet with military discipline at the bottom everything was made sure, and on one critical occasion the army seemed to be the only power that saved the country from a hasty relapse into a hopeless state of barbarism and anarchy. The army was armed, organized and disciplined in every respect after the manner of the British troops; and it served as an indispensable means of securing the dominion of the entire island to king Radama and to the influence of the English.

Yet from the efforts of the French to regain their position in the Madagascar, which they had never entirely abandoned for two hundred years, and the dissatisfaction of the pagan spirit of the rulers who were willing to have all the advantages of christianity but none of its precepts, and who were as intensely devoted to the slave trade—to the sale of their own people—as some of our own fellow-citizens have been, the English were finally compelled to quit the country, and to leave their work in imminent danger of being swallowed up in barbarism. The English missionaries had entered the island in 1818, and after eighteen years of careful, devoted labor, in 1836, the last of them were compelled, by a new administration of the government, to withdraw, leaving their native disciples to suffer martyrdom under a system of persecution so cruel that it threatened their utter extinction. Radama had been a wise and liberal minded sovereign who had the sagacity to perceive the value of christian civilization as opposed to the dark and degrading superstition of his people, and under his influence the labors of the missionaries had been attended with marked success. But on the death of this sovereign, he was succeeded in the kingdom by his wife, Ranavalona, who proved to be a bigoted pagan and a bitter persecutor of every one bearing the name of Christian. The native chiefs were in favor of restoring the slave trade, and were hence

opposed to the new religion. Besides, their national jealousies were aroused, and christianity seemed to them but another name for subjection to foreign influence and control. European christians of whatever sect, of whom there were a few in the country, had to flee for their lives, while the native christians were hunted out from their secret hiding places and subjected to the most barbarous and revolting punishments.

Eighteen years of unremitted missionary labor were now followed by another period of eighteen years, during which the night of barbarism again drew over the land, and the Pagan rule of Ravanalona prevailed without a check. The foreign missionary was jealously excluded from the island, and the handful of native christians were crushed beneath the heavy disfavor of the government. It is not improbable that if the English and French had been united in their views with respect to the island, the march of Christian progress there might have gone on without interruption, but as it was, amidst the jealousies of rival states and policies and opposing christian creeds, the Pagan spirit of the country was permitted to maintain the ascendency. During this long period of moral night and darkness the only thing that seemed to save the country from utter anarchy and barbarism, was, as we have already said, the military organization and discipline which had been established by the English, and which was still maintained by the pride of the Madagascar government and people. Yet it must be admitted that the religious ideas which had taken root could not be wholly suppressed. The numerous bibles and other books which had been printed in the native tongue and distributed among the people by the missionaries, were at work during all the period of darkness as quietly yet effectively as do the collected warmth of a summer's day and nurturing dews during the shades of night.

At length a new and happier state of things arose. The old Queen Ravanalona died, detested for her cruelty by her subjects of all classes, and her son succeeded to the crown. This prince adopted to some extent the liberal policy of his father, King Radama. He favored the christians and the benevolent policy of the English; and in consequence the missionaries again returned to the island and resumed their work. The spirit of the native christians, though crushed to earth, and apparently almost entirely extinguished, rose up the moment that pressure was removed, and grew with the most surprising rapidity. The persecutions of the late queen seemed

only to have given it new vigor and strength. Paganism gave way on all sides, and during the last ten years churches and school-houses have rapidly increased in the land; church-membership has multiplied daily, until now it numbers many thousands, and there are fair prospects that the progress of Christian civilization will soon extend to th whole nation and render it the first established christian kingdom of the east.

And here we would impress upon your attention the remarkable fact, that though it is some three hundred and fifty years since the island was first discovered by European enterprise, and though, during the greater part of this long period efforts have been made to christianize it, especially by the Portuguese and French, yet under that politic and crafty management which has ever distinguished the missionaries of the Romish Church, combined with the baneful influence of the slave-trade which both of these nations fostered down to within a recent period, but little progress was made in christian civilization. In fact, the English, beginning in 1816, with the philanthropic act of suppressing the foreign slave-trade of the island, have accomplished more towards civilizing Madagascar, and rendering it an independent christian nation than ever had been done before, by the Romish Church, since its discovery. The simple philanthropic idea of the English, loyally sustained by the combined efforts of their government and people, has proved more effective than all the political schemes and commercial cupidity of the Portuguese and French;—so much more powerful is the spirit of philanthropy as a principle of civilization than the greedy rapacity of politics and trade.

Having thus given a general outline of the labors of the English towards the christianization of the eastern portions of Africa, we turn now to the efforts of the United States upon the western coast of that continent, with the view to a comparison between the two.

It is a historical fact, worthy of particular observation, that at the close of the long struggle of the French revolutionary wars, which embraced in their operations a large portion of the globe, extending from the Indian Ocean in the east to the Mississippi river and the Pacific Ocean in the west, the two great nations representing the Anglo-Saxon race should both have entered at the same time, and totally independently of each other, upon schemes for the enfranchisement and elevation of the human family. But it

is natural, perhaps, that the two greatest commercial peoples of the world should, at the very first respite from war promising a long and stable peace, turn their attention to a continent of barbarians, waste, uncultivated and uncivilized, that lay directly in the track of the great stream of commerce between the east and west.

It is certainly to the credit of these nations that the consequent measures pursued by them have been distinguished by features of a markedly philanthropic cast.

On the 21st of December 1816, just three months and thirteen days after Farquhar, from the little island of Mauritius, had proposed to Earl Bathurst a plan for the civilization of Madagascar, a meeting of American citizens was held in the capitol at Washington, for the purpose of establishing a colony of our colored population on the western coast of Africa. Henry Clay presided at this meeting, and measures were adopted which led to the formation of the American Colonization Society, an event which is probably destined to as much importance in the history of the world as the discovery of America itself. Judge Bushrod Washington was chosen the first President of the Society, and among some of its earliest Vice-Presidents, of whom there were thirteen, were Francis S. Key, the author of the "Star Spangled Banner," Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, John Taylor, Andrew Jackson, and Gen. Mason. There was a Board of twelve managers appointed, who were all from the District of Columbia, and we may say once for all, that among the numerous persons who have acted as officers of the Society from that day to this, there have been included many, *very* many, of the wisest and best men of the country. Daniel Webster was a Vice President of the society through a course of years; and in his 7th of March speech of 1850, he declared himself willing to "incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish its objects."

By the year following, through the exertions of the estimable Bishop Meade of Virginia and others, sufficient funds had been raised to defray the expenses of a mission to the coast of Africa with the view of selecting a suitable location for the colony. The Rev. Samuel J. Mills of Connecticut, a gentleman who had devoted his life to schemes for the benefit of mankind, volunteered his services for the purpose, and associated with himself an old friend, the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess of Dedham, Massachusetts. Those two gentlemen set sail for England on their way to Africa in the month of November 1817. They were shipwrecked and driven upon the

coast of France in a violent storm in which the captain of the ship and two of his sons were lost; but finally, reaching England, they were favorably received and encouraged in their undertaking by the celebrated Wilberforce and other English philanthropists. Again setting sail, they reached Sierra Leone on the 22nd day of March 1818, the same year that the corps of English missionaries first entered the island of Madagascar.

The English Colony of Sierra Leone is situated on the West Coast of Africa, about eight degrees north of the Equator. Its territory, which is small, embracing only about 300 square miles, was purchased from native chiefs in 1787, and its earliest colonists consisted of Negroes who had abandoned their American masters during our revolutionary war and joined the English Army and Navy. These Negroes followed the British Army on its withdrawal from our shores and became settled, some in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and others in London. In the streets of London they were leading a wretched life of idleness and vice, without amalgamating with the people, when their condition drew the attention and the sympathy of Granville Sharpe, which led to their being settled in Sierra Leone as a refuge from their sufferings. To these were subsequently added Negroes from Halifax, and of two other classes, viz: Maroons, or free blacks from Jamaica, and recaptured slaves taken by British cruisers. The American agents were delighted with the kind reception which they met with in this colony, and with every thing they saw, with the schools, the churches, and the good order and industry of the colonists, especially of the recaptured slaves, who constituted the best portion of the population.

From this colony the agents turned their attention to the contiguous country lying to the south-eastward; and there quite a different prospect opened to their view. They looked out upon a land which was not only a howling wilderness, in which nature reigned in all her most savage mood, and in which not wild beasts alone preyed upon each other, but it was a land darkling with barbarism in its lowest and most vicious form, where the white man came from the christian world not as a messenger of mercy, but with passions kindled by infernal greed, to prey like a monster upon his fellow man; a land, in short, rendered horrid by all the heartless, revolting atrocity of the slave-trade, a trade which, according to the late Commodore Foote, who had served on that coast, was enough to make "the devil wonder and hell recognize its own likeness." Along

the coast for thousands of miles, hundreds of castles and strong-holds had been built by various nations of Europe as centers and depots of slave traffic. These centers had served their purpose, had enriched their builders, and were finally abandoned as the circumstances of the trade varied, and were left to go to decay. The christian mind at the present day is amazed at the multitude of these castles as they arise at point after point along the coast, rendered doubly gloomy by their state of desolation, and the inhuman purpose for which they were erected, reflecting more discredit upon Christian Europe than the Amphitheatre with its bloody sports does upon the memory of imperial Rome. The discovery of America in 1492 had thrown open an immense and fertile continent to the white race, and had created a sordid and covetous demand for laborers which the swarming millions of Africa were made to supply. These strangely docile men easily bent their necks to the yoke offered them by European greed and cupidity; and the trade in slaves increased in proportion as American soil became opened and settled. The slave trade was eagerly sought for by European nations as a rich monopoly; it was contended for by them as an exclusive possession both through diplomacy and arms; it was transferred from one to another in traffic and in the settlements for peace, until, at its height, it is estimated that not less than 500,000 souls were required annually to meet the loss, the waste, and the demand for labor occasioned by its merciless exactions. Africa was depleted annually of more of her children than Europe now is, with her some 300,000,000 of people, by the tide of peaceful emigration to our shores. The monetary returns of the trade were immense. It is believed as an axiom in commerce, that no trade however nefarious can be stopped either by law or by physical force—by any thing short of moral power—whose profits amount to 33 1-3 per cent. The profits of the slave trade were several hundred per cent, a negro on the Coast of Africa being often purchased for fifteen dollars, and disposed of in Brazil for 250 or 300 dollars. A trade of such enormous profits could easily afford to lose much of its material; and accordingly, the waste of human life attending the African slave trade was revoltingly great. It has been estimated as high as ten persons for every one landed on an American plantation.

Such was the condition of that part of the African Coast towards which the attention of American agents was now directed. An intense moral darkness pervaded the land, amidst which the lit-

tle colony of Sierra Leone was like a solitary taper in a vast benighted wilderness. But there was one other small light—quite small indeed in its proportions, yet very great in its illuminating power and in the guidance which it lent to men groping in the dark. This was a small colony of negroes on the island of Sherboro, about 120 miles S. S. E. of Sierra Leone, which had been established by one John Kizel, a former South Carolina slave, who was one of the number that joined the English during the revolutionary war. From Nova Scotia, whither the English army had taken him, he sailed with a number of his countrymen to Sherboro, where, being prospered in trade, he built a church, and preached to the people. He believed that Africa was the land for the black man, and that to Africa he must ultimately go. By this little colony the agents were kindly welcomed, and invited to make that point the seat of their contemplated settlement; and after such investigations as they were enabled to make, they set out on their return to the United States. Unfortunately, the enthusiastic, the devoted Mr. Mills took sick on the voyage and died. But Mr. Burgess survived; and on his return he gave such a favorable account of his mission as to confirm the Colonization Society in the prosecution of its designs.

Accordingly, in the month of February 1820, just two hundred years after the first African slave had been introduced into the English colonies of North America, a company of eighty six colored emigrants, accompanied by three white men as agents, embarked at New York on board the ship Elizabeth, chartered for the purpose by the U. S. government, and set sail for the island of Sherboro, where they had obtained permission to reside until a site could be purchased on the main land. In consequence of a law of Congress passed in 1819, authorizing the president to send out an agency to Africa to provide an Asylum for recaptured slaves, the government aided this effort of the society, and not only furnished agricultural implements for the emigrants, but sent a ship of war to accompany and assist them in effecting a settlement. The government of that day, under a pure American administration, found no difficulty in aiding an enterprise of this kind, and in returning Africans, though they might be recaptured within our own ports, to Africa from which they had been stolen, and though there might not appear to be much legal difference in this respect between a recaptured slave and the slave who had never yet acquired citizenship upon our soil.

In the course of a few months after these first pioneers of African Colonization had arrived at Sherboro, all of the white men and about one fourth of the emigrants died, and the remainder sought shelter in Sierra Leone. The following year their number was increased by another company consisting of thirty three emigrants, and four white men to serve as agents of the society and of the United States government. And we may add here, as an evidence of the steady constancy and fidelity, as well as of the practical ability of the Colonization Society, that through numerous adverse circumstances and discouragements of various kinds, the emigration once thus commenced has been regularly continued every year since, sometimes as many as six or eight parties being sent out a year; and to this constant, unfailing supply is the prosperity and probably even the existence of the colony due. Good faith, earnestness, and sympathy on the part of the society has served to inspire the colonists with confidence, strengthen their hopes, and encourage them to renewed efforts in the great, difficult, yet important work which they have undertaken, which is nothing less than the christianization of an immense continent.

At length, in 1821, the United States government sent out Lieutenant (since Commodore) Stockton, together with Dr. Eli Ayres of Philadelphia, to procure a situation for the colonists more favorable than that of Sherboro. The eye of the Lieutenant was arrested, as he sailed along the coast, by a beautiful, bold headland, called Cape Mesurado, which is situated some 140 miles south easterly from Sierra Leone, and about six degrees north of the Equator, and he immediately resolved on making that the site of the colony. In treating with the native chiefs for its possession, he found that they were averse to selling it, because of its value to them for the slave trade; but the application of a pistol by the Lieutenant to the ear of one of the principal chiefs, together with other inducements, secured a legal transfer of the title, signed and sealed by six native kings; and in the month of April 1822, the colonists were transferred to that point, and the American flag was given to the breeze upon its summit. This cape is an elevated mass of earth rising from a generally low coast to the height of some two hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea, and is ten miles in circumference. It is probably the most beautiful site for a city in all Western Africa; and it is there that has gradually grown up the present Capital of Liberia, which is called Monrovia after President Monroe. The

name Liberia, we scarcely need add, is from the Latin word *liber*, signifying *free and not a slave*, and it has been given to a colony in Africa on the same principle that the Israelites on crossing the Jordan into the promised land gave to their first lodgement there the name of Gilgal, which, according to Josephus, means liberty.

To the small territory thus acquired, additions have been made from time to time, partly by purchase and partly by the peaceful absorption of native tribes, until Liberia now extends along the coast nearly six hundred miles, and inland an indefinite distance. The country along the coast is low and subject to fevers, but inland, at the distance of some twenty miles, it rises into hills and mountains, which can be seen in fair weather by vessels sailing along the coast, and the climate there becomes healthy for the black man. The water is pure and crystalline, the birds sing more sweetly than in the low-lands, and the air to one from the coast is fresh and invigorating. The rivers are short, not sufficiently deep at their mouths to admit vessels of any considerable size, and are navigable only some fifteen or twenty miles; for at that distance from the sea they are usually obstructed with rapids and falls. But their banks are often elevated, and of a very rich, alluvial soil; and from amidst the dark forests with which they were covered, and overtopping them, rose the tall and graceful palm. There are few bays and harbors sheltered from the sea and winds, but in fact they are hardly needed, for vessels with good ground tackling can anchor all along the coast at all seasons. The temperature is very equable, not varying more than 18 degrees during the entire year, ranging during the wet seasons from 70 to 76 degrees, and during the dry, from 78 to 84 degrees. The temperature of 70°, which occurs in June, is felt to be quite cool by the native Liberian, and as a defence against it, he wears warm winter clothing, and sleeps beneath several blankets. The soil abounds in all the tropical productions, many of which are of indigenous growth, such as the sugar cane, coffee tree, cotton, rice, indigo, ginger, cassada, sweet potatoes, pepper, oranges, lemons, coca-nuts, pine apples, plantains, etc., etc. One half acre of plantains, it is said, will provision fifty laborers for a whole year. Cotton, sugar cane, lima beans, and sweet potatoes will yield several years in succession without replanting, and two crops of corn may be produced each year. Two hours labor a day will produce more than a whole day of twelve hours in the United States, so that the labor of one negro in Africa may make as much sugar, cotton, or

tobacco as that of the most energetic white man in our southern states. A few acres planted with coffee trees, each of which will yield six pounds a year, worth fifteen cents per pound, and which hardly any one is too humble to possess, would make one independently wealthy. Cows and horses are brought down from the interior, and agricultural labor can be had for only twenty five cents a day. In this respect Africa presents a peculiar inducement to emigrants over the United States, or in fact, over any other quarter of the globe. The country abounds in fine timber, with dye-woods whose hues are never changed or weakened either by acids or the sun; vast palm forests which yield the valuable palm oil, stretch in beautiful luxuriance along the coasts, and the land is rich in iron, gold, and other minerals.

But a country which is so beautiful and productive, and which was wrested from the native chiefs so much against their will, was not to remain a long time in the possession of a handful of intrusive colonists without being hotly contested. There are several tribes and parts of tribes of native negroes within the limits of Liberia, the Veys, the Deys, the Bassas, the Kroos, the Queaghs, the Mandingoes, etc. The Mandingoes are Mahommedans and have schools in which Arabic is taught. The Veys are a bright, intelligent people who, taking the idea from the Mandingoes, and like our Cherokee Indians, have invented an alphabet of their own. The Kroos are among the best sailors of the world, and are frequently found on board of ships sailing to South America, to New York, Liverpool and other ports. The chiefs of some of these tribes resolved to drive the new intruders from their country.

Mr. Ashmun of Champlain, New York, had now become agent of the Colonization Society, and finding that the chiefs were bent on war, he visited them in person; but his proposals for peace were coldly received. He offered to buy a peace, and agreed to pay two or there hundred bars of iron, each bar being worth 75 cents; but there was a man belonging to the colony, Elijah Johnson by name, who, though a colored man, had been connected with our army during the war with Great Britain of 1812, and who dissented from the bargain, declaring that the price would be thrown away, for he knew enough of the native character to convince him that nothing but a fight would settle the difficulty. The whole number of colonists amounted to 130, only 35 of whom were capable of bearing arms. Thirteen of these, most of whom knew nothing about a mus-

ket, were daily exercised in the use of arms. Ammunition was prepared, a tower planned, five iron cannon and one brass one were dragged up from the beach where they lay buried in sand and mounted on rude carriages, the surrounding thickets were cleared away, and every possible preparation was made for defence. There were forty muskets in all, and two swivels besides the cannon, all of which were brought into requisition, and the position was surrounded by a picket fence as well as by heaps of brush.

Mr. Ashmun in the meantime was taken sick, and his wife lay upon a mat, beneath a leaky roof, in a dying condition. Yet he attended to all his duties, in which he received great assistance from Mr. Johnson and another American negro by the name of Lott Casey. At length, at break of day, the savages made their long threatened attack, and at first it seemed as if it would prove disastrous to the colonists. An immense body issued from the forest, fired, and then rushed forward upon the post with horrid yells. Taken by surprise, several of the colonists were killed, while the rest fell back in confusion. But the savages, instead of following up their advantage, stopped to plunder and capture some women and children who were in the most exposed houses. Mr. Ashmun rushed to the point assailed, and, assisted by the determined boldness of Lott Casey, rallied the broken settlers to their abandoned posts. Two of the cannon, doubly charged and directed upon the assailants, did rapid and effective execution. The enemy began to waver and give way, and the settlers seeing their advantage, pushed forward and decided the repulse. Directing their cannon so as to rake the enemy's whole line, every shot told; while the old soldier Johnson, passing around the enemy's flank with a few musketeers, completed their consternation. With a savage yell of disappointment echoing through the lone forest, the savage horde fell back and disappeared amidst the gloomy wilds. Though their onset had been furious, yet in half an hour they had met with a decided defeat.

In this fight considerable injury was inflicted upon the colonists. Besides the killed and wounded, among which several women were included, a number of children were carried off captives One old man seventy years of age saw two grandsons fall before his eyes, five carried off into captivity, and a son-in-law maimed in the shoulder for life. Though victory had declared for the colonists, and though it had made them friends among the natives, yet their condition was unpromising in the extreme. Their provisions had

become reduced to a fifteen days' supply, while their ammunition would hardly prove sufficient for another attack, which seemed very likely to be made. Every effort at opening negotiations for peace with the natives was scornfully rejected.

A day of humiliation thanksgiving and prayer was appointed November 23rd, and the colonists were gratified by the arrival of a ship commanded by Captain Brassey of Liverpool, who shewed a generous interest in their behalf. He gave them all the stores that he could spare, did all he could to relieve the sick and wounded, and even went into the interior and tried to conciliate the chiefs and gain their good will. But, though known by them, and usually having great influence over them, they were determined upon another attack.

Accordingly, on the second of December the savages again opened a brisk fire upon the post. It was promptly returned from the cannon, and the assailants were for a moment staggered. But they soon rallied, and were again driven back. A third time they rushed to the assault, and for the third time were they routed. Still for a fourth time they made their attack, and for the fourth and last time they were driven back over their dead and dying comrades. The handful of colonists stood firmly to their posts like veterans. After an hour and a half of hard fighting, a yell of defeated and thwarted rage rang out upon the early morning air; the savages fled to their dark retreats, and once more the settlers stood victorious! They had worthily attested the sterling purpose of America to plant civilization upon the soil of Africa darkling with barbarism for many thousands of years. It was thought that nearly a thousand natives had attacked the post; and their loss, though not fully ascertained, was considerable. Of the colonists only one was killed and but a few were wounded.

During the following night a rustling in the thickets alarmed one of the out-posts, a cannon was discharged, and several random musket shots were fired. It proved to be a false alarm, but the report of the cannon was heard by the crew of a vessel which then happened to be rounding the Cape. It was a British schooner laden with supplies for Cape Coast Castle, and had on board Major Laing, the African traveller. The officers of the vessel lent the colonists every assistance in their power; and Major Laing offered to use his influence with the hostile chiefs to secure a treaty of peace. The savages, humbled by their repeated failures, were ready to

yield a favorable response, and a treaty was entered into between the natives and the colonists. Midshipman Gordon and twelve British sailors volunteered to remain and assist the settlers while observing the working of the treaty. Of these generous men, the midshipman and twelve sailors were taken down by the fever and died.

It is needless to go into all the details and incidents, however interesting, attending the growth of Liberia from its earlier stages up to the present time—from its precarious condition of a small feeble colony of returned Africans struggling for a hold against the wild and hostile people of their own father-land, up to its present condition of a free and independent republic, recognized and respected by the leading nations of christendom. Suffice it to to say, that the military spirit of the colonists became developed in proportion as its exercise was called for, until finally the efforts of whole organized regiments were directed both upon the strongholds of the hostile chiefs of the interior and the barracoons of the slave dealers along the coast. In these military operations the Liberians were assisted and at times had their troops transported by the war ships of both England and France. As a means of suppressing the slave trade it is allowed that Liberia and the English colonies along the coast of Africa, have been more effective than all the immensely costly fleets of cruisers of the various nations of Europe which have been employed for that purpose. The total cost of the Colony of Liberia up to the year 1850, had been only about 800,000 dollars, which is not very considerably greater than the cost of the American squadron on the coast of Africa at that period for one single year. The total cost of Great Britain for the maintainance of her squadrons upon the Western African Station, is estimated at over 100,000,000 pounds sterling; and yet it is probable that the single colony of Liberia alone has contributed as much towards destroying the slave trade as have all these squadrons put together.

Other settlements besides Monrovia became gradually scattered over the land, until by the year 1839, or less than twenty years after the landing of the first colonists, there were nine towns, twenty churches, two day schools, and many Sabbath schools, four printing presses, thirty ministers and two newspapers, the Liberia Herald and a religious paper called the African Luminary. These towns were then formed into one constitutional government, with a governor appointed by the society. It is worthy of note that the consti-

tution prohibited any white man from holding land in the commonwealth.

Eight years afterwards, in 1847, the commonwealth thus constituted, was declared by the people to be a free, sovereign, and independent state, by the name and title of "The Republic of Liberia." Joseph T. Roberts, a negro born in Virginia, yet educated, it may be said, in Liberia, having grown up with its growth, was chosen the first president for the constitutional period of two years, and the first session of the Legislature was held in 1848. The Constitution of Liberia is very similar to our own, and it contained a provision, which, from the unhealthiness of the climate to the Caucasian race, seemed merely to re-enact a law of Nature: it prohibited white men from becoming citizens of the country.

The first message of President Roberts to the Legislature is marked by as much ability as those of any of our own presidents. Not long after his election he visited the United States in company with two Commissioners, Beverly R. Wilson and James S. Payne, who were appointed by the Republic of Liberia, to effect a settlement with the Colonization Society, rendered necessary by the new character assumed by the colony. The Board of Directors of the Society met the Commissioners at New York, where arrangements were made satisfactory to all parties, the Society ceding all its lands to the Republic, reserving only such rights in them as were necessary for performing its obligations to former emigrants, and an appropriation of ten per cent on the proceeds of sales of public land for all time to come for purposes of education. Re-captured Africans were to be admitted as before; the U. S. government making provision for their support. The following important articles were also stipulated, viz:

Art. 6. The Society shall retain the right of locating emigrants in any of the present settlements.

Art. 7. New settlements are to be formed by the concurrence and agreement of the government of Liberia and the Colonization Society.

From what we have said, the chief objects of the American Colonization Society will appear obvious. They are:

1st. To rescue the free people of color of the United States from their political and social disadvantages.

2nd. To place them in a country where they may enjoy the benefits of free government, with all the blessings which it brings in its train; and

3rd. To spread civilization, sound morals and true religion throughout the continent of Africa.

The efforts of the Society thus far towards these objects may be summed up as follows: Under its auspices and at its expense, over 12,000 emigrants have been deported from our shores to Liberia. To these are to be added 5,722 recaptured Africans, mostly taken on the high seas by the men of war of the United States, and to which the settlements of the society have furnished an asylum. It has brought within its influence 200,000 of the native inhabitants who are willingly and gradually acquiring the tastes and habits of civilized life. It possesses a college, numerous schools and seminaries, and some fifty churches of different denominations. Its college, which has but just gone into operation, is the first, we believe, that has been established on the Western Coast of Africa. Among its faculty is one whom we may be proud of as a graduate of Middlebury College, Professor Freeman, who occupies the chair of Mathematical and Physical Sciences. The first graduating class consisted of but one person, yet there are now the names of fourteen on the rolls of the College proper, besides twenty one in the preparatory department, making in all thirty five, and the institution may be regarded as in a flourishing condition. It will doubtless be patronized by the English settlements and the native tribes for some eighteen hundred miles along the coast. Another of its faculty, Professor Blyden, a man of marked learning and ability, has recently returned from the Protestant college at Mount Lebanon, Syria, where he went to perfect himself in the Arabic language, with the view of teaching it to his classes. He was led to this step by learning that the Mahommedans of the interior were greatly delighted with a box of New Testaments in Arabic which had been sent to them from Syria by the way of the United States and Liberia. We may remark here that as the inland boundaries of Liberia become extended, they will gradually bring the Liberians into direct contact with the powerful military Africo-Arabian governments of the interior of the continent, and it seems important therefore, that together with other civilizing agencies, that of military organization and discipline should be more carefully looked to than it has hitherto been. There is

no greater or more direct opposition between any two systems of civilization than that existing between Christianity and Mahommedanism. The future conflict between these two systems in Africa must inevitably become as hostile as it is direct; and unless there is due military preparation made on the part of Liberia, the consequences may yet prove disastrous. We have only to reflect how long the French have been in subduing the Mahommedan spirit of Algiers, to convince us that there is great danger to be apprehended to our colony in Africa from the neighborhood of Mahommedan nations, and that one of the best possible preparations to meet this danger, would be to locate our African soldiers on African lands on the inner frontiers of Liberia.

We have thus drawn a comparison, in outline, between the philanthropic labors of the British in Madagascar, and those of the Americans in Liberia. Both have made gratifying progress, but probably the efforts of the British, though contending against far greater obstacles, have thus far been crowned with the greatest success. The British government has lent its strong arm, and given more effective assistance to the London Missionary Society than has been given by our government to the American Colonization Society. Our political parties, unfortunately, both tend to impede the operations of the society rather than aid them. The abolitionists were suspicious of the society as a scheme for serving the designs of the slave holder, whose interests might be supposed to be endangered by the presence of a large number of free negroes amidst his slaves, and who was therefore alone, on that account, desirous of getting rid of all free persons of color; and the slave power, on the other hand, became jealous of the society, because, in fact, a benevolent, philanthropic in stitution, like that of the Colonization Society, could not fail to prove dangerous to slavery; for slavery must necessarily die where true philanthropy exists. Hence, between the two parties, as between the upper and nether millstones, the interests of the Society and of the African race in the United States, have often seemed in danger of being ground to powder. An idea of the assistance which has been lent by our government to the benevolent designs of its subjects with regard to Africa, in comparison with that lent towards the same object by other nations, may be drawn from the following table, which shows the work done by national armed vessels in suppressing the slave trade during the year 1846. In that year

the number of slave ships captured and destroyed by various nations was as follows:

By the British,	40
" " French,	12
" " Portuguese,	10
" " Americans,	2

In fact, during the reign of the slave power among us, our nation, at times, seemed even to be lending its flag to the interests of the slave trade; and of all the nations of christendom, when it should have been first and foremost in recognizing the independence of the African republic, it has in reality been among the very last. That it has lent some assistance to the designs of the Colonization Society is true; that it could have lent much more than it has done and is doing, is quite certain; and even in its present attitude towards colonization, at a period when colonization is a matter of the first interest to the country, it seems to be governed more, we are sorry to say, by the passions and prejudices, by the party traditions and biases of the people, than by those elevated considerations of philanthropy which are alone becoming to the character of a great christian government. During the war little or nothing was done for colonization by the administration, though the scheme was highly favored by Congress; and the means placed at the disposal of the Executive, among which were several hundred vessels, would have enabled him to carry it into initiatory execution. The small and feeble attempt which he made in that direction, was directed towards the West Indies and not to Liberia, and was limited to the narrow and contracted view of merely getting rid of the African race from our shores, instead of being extended to the nobler object of making use of them for christianizing Africa and bettering the condition of the entire human family.

During a great struggle for one of the highest of all objects, for human rights, like that which our people have gone through in the late war, and are even now undergoing, when colonization of the African race in Africa would seem not only due to the unfortunate people whom our politics has wronged and oppressed, but as the best means for a permanent settlement of our difficulties, it appears strange that our government should have confined its attention so exclusively to the interests of the white race instead of extending it more liberally to the black race. Our administration has indeed established a colony, and it is a very valuable one, we are

made to believe; but it is not in the tropical regions of Africa, and for the benefit of our African population; no, it is, on the contrary, in the icy regions of the Arctic circle, and is for the use of the white race alone. Our administration, instead of turning its attention to a tropical colony in the South East, has got away as far as it could towards an Arctic colony in the North West. As if it feared that Africa and Liberia should receive some of its assistance! Such a course of proceedure as this appears to us something like that hardness and obtuseness which formerly characterized the political power and cunning of Egypt, in a similar case, when called on by moral power to relax its greedy, selfish grasp from an oppressed subject race.

As a christian people we are taught to believe that the living germ of our holy religion may be traced directly to the successful struggle of a great moral idea against political cunning—to the act of wresting human beings, even against their own will, from the rapacity of the oppressor, and restoring them to their moral rights, to their manhood, and to the possession of their fatherland. To this act of high principle as opposed to low and selfish motive, are we indebted for all the civil and religious liberty, for all the light and christian life which we now enjoy. And if we are not capable of a similar degree of moral strength to insist upon the negro's having the possession of his fatherland and the preservation of his religious idiosyncrasy; if our idea of right and fitness of things does not prevail over that greed which teaches us to keep the negro among us for the purely selfish consideration of his labor and his vote, then it is doubtful whether we have sufficient moral strength to maintain either the system of christian civilization which we have inherited, or that peculiar form of government which has grown out of it, and of which we are now so justly proud.

The sacred scriptures, practically viewed, plainly teach us that God himself, through the exhibition of miracles, which are very likely to occur where the laws of nature are violated by the will of man, commanded, in a case similar to ours, the entire separation of the enslaved race from the dominant one. We are taught that the Israelitish slave had to be baptized by the Red Sea, again by the cloud, and still again by the waters of the Jordan, before he could be worked entirely clean of the stains of degradation incurred whilst in bondage, and be fitted to enjoy perfect manhood in the land of promise; and so we may readily believe that the late African slave

of the United States will have need of the broad waters of the Atlantic intervening between him and his former degradation and abasement before he can rise to the full dignity of manhood in the land of his fathers. The question arises whether, as practical believers in our religion, we have a right to set aside the example which it has given us, and hold on to the weaker race among us, from unworthy considerations of material profit and political power. We ought to ask ourselves in all sincerity and directness, whether it is not for a mere selfish and political object that we keep the African here, instead of for those higher reasons upon which the safety, power, and dignity of states must depend.

Our negro population have been taught to think by the cunning politician, as well as by the unthinking white citizen, that, as they were born in America, they therefore have a right to remain here. These are the first words that the negro, on being born into the world of liberty, is taught to lisp. "We were born in America, therefore we have a right to remain here." But these words are in no respect different in spirit from those which the freed Israelite used when he asked—"Are there no graves in Egypt that we should be brought into the desert to die?" Had we not acquired a right to die and be buried in Egypt? We have a right to remain in America, says the negro. The dangerous fallacy conveyed by such words consists in the Jeffersonian doctrine of impressing upon men a notion of their *rights* before teaching them their *duties*. By teaching men their rights first before their duties, they are rendered exacting, turbulent, obdurate, and well fitted for despotic government. But men must know and perform their *duties* to society before they can properly understand and exercise their *rights*. The essence of civil liberty consists in the performance of moral duty. What would have become of our moral code and of our system of civilization, if the Israelites had maintained the position, that as they were born in Egypt, in Egypt therefore they would remain? Or what even, would have become of our civil and religious liberties if the Puritans had said the same thing of *their* right to remain in England? No, what the negro should be taught is this—we have a right to Africa, and to Africa we will go. We maintain that it is the duty of the negro of the United States, to redeem his brethren of Africa from their unhappy barbarism; for he is the only suitable agent for accomplishing this grand and beneficent object. No other heathen or pagan race of the world has won the advantage through its mis-

fortunes of having so large a number of its own people in the bosom of a christian community, as has Africa. While China and Japan must begin the slow work of christianization by sending a few of their youths to our schools, by introducing our school books, and by establishing seminaries for the inculcation of western learning, Africa has in our midst four millions of her children who might act as missionaries and convert to christianity the hundred millions of her barbarous people. In a material point of view we have in our midst four millions of laborers, who have learned how to raise the tropical productions of the earth, such as rice, sugar, coffee and cotton, which have become necessities to the world, and which, by stimulating their growth in Africa, might be brought within the reach of every poor man at a low rate. The higher principles of economy as well as of morality and religion, teach us that we should let the negro go; the white man, who is thronging to our shores from over crowded Europe, can raise most of the tropical productions grown in the United States to a better advantage than the negro can, and it is only the negro who can bring the tropical lands of Africa under cultivation. But still our administration hold on to him with a greedy grasp, and pursue a course that would render it very difficult for him to go to Africa even if he should wish to do so. Both the planter and the politician find his services valuable; and the negro seems as quiescently willing to serve their purposes now, as he ever was when a slave;—he is as willing that we shall rule him to our own hurt now as he ever was.

To shew what one of the first and ablest men of the negro race thinks of his countrymen in this connection, we may here quote from the inaugural address of President Roberts of Liberia, delivered on the 3rd day of January 1848. It was the first inaugural to the first republic of Africa since the days of Carthage—since the days of that ancient republic, which has the honor of producing a man whose wise saying will stand as long as gladiatorial Rome will stand :—*that nothing in the shape of humanity was foreign to him.* "But if there be any amoug us," says President Roberts in his first inaugural "if there be any among us dead to all sense of honor and love of their country; if deaf to all calls of liberty, virtue and religion; if forgetful of the benevolence and magnanimity of those who have procured this asylum for them, and the future happiness of their children; if neither the examples nor success of other nations, the dictates of reason and nature, or the great duties they owe to their

God, themselves and their posterity, have any effect upon them;—if neither the injuries which they received in the land whence they came, the prize they are contending for, the future blessings or curses of their children, the applause or reproach of all mankind, the approbation or displeasure of the great judge, or the happiness or misery consequent upon their conduct in this and a future state, can move them; then let them be assured that they deserve to be slaves, and are entitled to nothing but anguish and tribulation. Let them banish forever from their minds the hope of ever obtaining that freedom, reputation, and happiness, which, as men, they are entitled to. Let them forget every duty, human and divine, remember not that they have children, and beware how they call to mind the justice of the Supreme Being: let them return into slavery, and lug their chains, and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations."

Another writer says: "they ought to be made to feel that it is their highest privilege, as well as their imperative duty, to cast in their lot with the pioneers in the work of Africa's civil, social, and religious redemption, and sacrifice themselves, if need be, in the stupendous work of spreading free government and civil institutions over all Africa, and bringing her uncounted population all under the dominion of the Kingdom of Heaven."

If the negro cannot feel this degree of enthusiasm, cannot entertain this sense of duty, and arrive at this pitch of heroic devotion to a great cause, it may well be questioned whether he is a fit member of a republic any where, either in America or Liberia. His stay in this country must ever be attended with such depressing influences as to dwarf and stunt his faculties, and render his condition anything but desirable to high minded men, of whom it is said that states are constituted. The spirit that becomes relieved from some great oppression like that of slavery, and does not feel in response an ardent glow of benevolence and good will to all men, and a desire to carry this good will into practical operation towards his fellow beings, can be of but little use to our system of civilization anywhere, whether in America or Africa. The negro who clings to the United States acts from mere selfish considerations, proposing to benefit himself alone, while in Liberia he would benefit not only himself but many millions of his fellow beings. White men say that his labor is needed here; but why should he be under the least obligation to serve the purposes of white men in America and neglect those of his own race in Africa who need his assistance? Ethiopia is indeed stretching forth her hand unto God, but only a

few of God's ministers go to her assistance. America is the only part of the world that can freely supply that kind of christian emigration which is needed for the settlement of Africa, and still our administration, the administration of our troubles and our necessity, withholds it with a covetous grasp!

With regard to the policy of keeping the negro among us by forcible detention—for where no suitable facilities are offered for his going he is in a measure forced to remain—we may say that such a course tends to the loss of our national identity, and consequently of our national character. Our institutions were not devised for Africans, Asiatics, Europeans, or Indians; they were especially framed to suit the condition of a certain kind of people who had grown up under peculiar circumstances in the forests of a new world, and were setting a new and worthy example for the corrupt nations of the old world. Neither the African nor Indian, nor Coolie, nor modern European, had any voice in the compact by which these institutions were established. Just in proportion therefore, as we adapt these institutions to the peculiarities of other men than those for whom they were fashioned, in that same proportion must their spirit and character become changed. If we admit other races and nations into the national partnership with us, we must expect to adapt our institutions to them instead of fashioning them wholly to our institutions. The great fault of our war administration has been that it did not make use of the war power to assert the supremacy of the American constitution and of the American character over the heterogeneous elements of which our people have come to be composed, instead of pursuing the weak course of altering the constitution to suit it to our degenerate condition.

There is no instance in either ancient or modern times, says an able writer, of two separate and distinct races of men living together, in which one or the other has not become inferior, and in no one case have the members of the inferior race been able to shew themselves as capable of getting along in the world as the superior race. But where the races have been separated, the inferior race has then been able to display quite as much aptitute in all that is essential to the growth and support of society as any other race of men have done. The separation of two such races is indispensable to the success of the inferior race. We might as well try to raise a good crop of apples in a thick grove of oaks or pines, as to cause one race to thrive under the overshadowing influence of a more powerful one. If this be true, as it undoubtedly is, then our institutions cannot

possibly extend equal rights and privileges to the African race without losing some of their original force and character. We are indeed stretching the capacities of our government too far, when we force it to include heterogeneous elements that do not properly belong to it. For wise purposes God has made a diversity of races and nations, and men must conform their political theories to this law, or else expect discord and trouble.

For our own part we are one who believed that when our government became invested with the extraordinary powers inevitable to a state of war, it ought to have made use of those powers for establishing the colonization of Africa as our policy with respect to our African population. We thought that the government should enter into an agreement, or contract, with every negro regiment which it raised, to serve for a certain time and receive its lands in Africa. No state could subsequently annul this compact, and it would have been a much better method of abolishing slavery than the wretched course of tinkering the Constitution for this purpose which was pursued by the administration. It was but a narrow view to take of our national obligations to suppose that these obligations were satisfied by the mere knocking off the chains from our slaves. The blood and treasure so profusely lavished in the war should have brought a much higher return than this. It should have insured the best possible good, not only to ourselves, but to Africa, and to all mankind. It should have insured an ultimate separation of the races and an end to the predominating influence of the unhomogeneous elements from the old world that are intruding upon our nationality. But unfortunately our national energies had become so much relaxed under the long prevalence of loose democratic sentiments that our political managers could not lift themselves up to a level with this view of the duties and responsibilities of government, although the generous efforts of the people, aroused as they were by war, would have amply sustained them in such a course.

We believed that a college ought to have been established in the District of Columbia at the beginning of the war, to prepare colored youths for introducing into Africa our Vermont system of township division of territory and government, without which no de-

mocratic republican government can possibly exist for any considerable length of time any where; that the lands of Liberia, with its six hundred miles of interior frontier, should be laid off into such townships, and that our negro troops should be located upon them as a reward for their services, as a peaceful and ready way of merging them into a useful citizenship of Liberia, of giving that new Republic a sure system of defence, and as an expeditious way of reclaiming and civilizing Africa. The sum of 400,000,000 of dollars would serve to transfer every man, woman and child of our negro population to Africa—to the land of their ancestors. If they were not willing to enter into an agreement to this effect, then they should have been allowed to remain, as President Roberts said, "in slavery, and hug their chains and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations."

It would have been far better to regard every slave that fell into the hands of the government troops, as a recaptured slave, and to treat him accordingly, as all recaptured slaves *are* treated, viz: return him to Africa, than to leave him as he is, a melancholy prey to the party contests, the cupidity, the prejudices, and the convenience of the whites. It is plain to see that the offering him a vote, is like giving money and whiskey to the Indian for his lands; that he is merely made use of as an evil to counterbalance that other evil, the European vote, and that he is ultimately to fall a sacrifice to the rougher nature of the white race, to our final hurt.

It is needless to say that neither of the courses here indicated was followed by the administration. On the contrary, it permitted the efforts of the people to spend themselves on vague and indefinite objects. It gave no sufficient direction to the popular energies, no elevation of sentiment to the popular enthusiasm, no wide scope to the sphere of national power and influence. It allowed precious opportunities to pass which can never be recalled. The time has probably passed when it was possible to adopt the colonization policy which we have indicated; but still, much might be accomplished by the government even now, by favoring emigration generally, and especially by establishing a regular line of steam-ships between the United States and Liberia. Such a line was proposed and received pretty general favor, particularly from Vermont, fifteen years ago or more; and indeed the state became pledged to it by legislative action, a fact which from our course of late years, would seem to have been forgotten. While some of our politicians were giving

constitutional reasons why such a line could not be established, England, as usual, proceeded to act at once. She established a line of steamers between one of her ports and the Western Coast of Africa, consisting of the Fore-runner, the Faith, Hope and Charity, and while thus securing the valuable trade of that coast, she has been contributing largely to spread there the ideas, habits, and advantages of regular civilized government; for among material agencies there are few more powerful civilizers than a regular line of steamships.

When we consider that there are some 20,000 people in Liberia who have connexions, relatives and friends in the United States, and that they do not possess facilities of communication with them equal to those, even, which have been provided by our government for Rio Janeiro, we can only wonder that such results could possibly flow from the operations of a great, enlightened and christian nation. There is not an Irishman, German, nor even a Chinaman in the United States, who cannot hear frequently and regularly from his friends in the Old World by steamship communication, while the African of Liberia receives no comfort, consolation, or support, from such a source. Should the African of the United States wish to go to Liberia, he has no assurance that the private ship by which he might sail would not sell him into Slavery. The administration by its policy seems determined to compel the negro to stay among us, and to force him as a citizen upon all the states, whether they want him or not. It furnishes no facilities to the negro to return to his father land; but in fact, rather offers inducements to the Liberian to emigrate to the United States. It seeks to make the negro an element of political power, merely as a check to the aristocratic tendencies coming from the presence of the European population among us, its policy amounting only to the vulgar, helpless notion that one wrong may be made to counterbalance another wrong, not reflecting that both wrongs must inevitably be inflicted upon the country.

It might be thought that it is a great undertaking to attempt to remove four millions of Africans from our shores, but a great nation can, and ought to do great things. In view of what our energies and powers ought to be half a century hence under the stimulus of our free institutions, the Atlantic should become as a mere steam-ferry to us.

It would seem to be an evident truth, and only need to be asserted to be received, that a race which has become unsuitably placed

by the covetous passions of men, ought to be restored to a suitable location: for the laws of Nature are superior to those of men. The negro belongs to a tropical race, and the necessities for tropical productions, as we have already pointed out, now require his presence in the tropics as imperatively as the vacant lands of America ever called for his exit from his African home. It is a heartless mockery to offer the negro the same rights in any one state of the American Union as in all the others, for there are some states of so cold and rude a climate that he could not dwell in them. As a citizen of the republic he must inevitably be sectional in his character, for it is only in a certain section of the country that he could possibly thrive. He could not even become national as the citizen of a country of white men, for Nature has imprinted upon him an identity of nationality which cannot be made to represent any other nationality; nor can he claim the respect of mankind until his own nation has assumed a respectable place among the nations of the world.

The dominant party in the United States doubtless claim philanthropic motives in seeking to extend political rights to the negro, but it is an empty endowment to offer him mere political equality, without an eligibility to social equality, without an eligibility to inter-marry with our race and to hold high stations of honor and profit with them in the Army and Navy, and in civil life, which few believe that he will ever enjoy. But which is the higher order of philanthropy, to give the negro mere political rights in the United States, without landed possessions and without social or civil equality, or to give him a country where he can enjoy all, not only political equality, but the possession of land, and social and civil equality, and national life and character?

We have, it must be acknowledged, many able colored men among us but why do they persist in staying here where their ability is looked upon with disfavor, and where it is not needed, and not enter upon the great and inviting field of labor in Africa where their abilities *are* needed? When there is such a demand for able men in Liberia, why has our administration held out fallacious inducements to able colored men to remain here where there is no need of their services?

But is it indeed thought by our politicians that we have need of the negro to complete the subjugation of the rebellion, and that we cannot do without him? Do they admit that all our armed hosts, all our immense treasure, and all the republican qualities of

the white race have not been sufficient to conduct the war of the rebellion to a successful issue, but that to accomplish this end we are dependent upon the black race? If so, we are indeed in a very humiliating condition. Nothing could be more so than to owe our safety to the race which we have so long oppressed.

In drawing our remarks to a close, we may be permitted to make a few quotations from Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—almost the last act of whose lives was the presiding over the deliberations of the Colonization Society—as well as from other eminent men, both black and white, to shew the propriety of separating the African from the Caucasian race in the United States, and the power of our government to aid this object. During the compromise measures of 1850 and the troublous times occasioned by them, the Colonization Society was looked to with a great deal of interest by our political men, as a means which offered the best prospect for settling the difficulties arising from the presence among us of the African race, and it received more favorable attention then, than it has since done. And this is one good evidence, we think, of the value of the Colonization Society, that in an hour of national danger and trouble it has been looked to by the first intellects of the land as a source of relief and safety. That this source of safety should have been overlooked in a time of war, when the nation was wholly absorbed in the defence of its existence, is not perhaps unnatural, though it may not appear either wise or considerate.

Mr. Clay, in his address to the Society as the President, in 1848, said: "It is not our office to attempt impracticabilities, to amalgamate two races which God himself, by difference of color, besides other inherent distinctions, has declared must be separate and remain separate from each other." He concluded this address as follows: "I shall soon leave you and this stage of human action forever. I may never occupy this chair again; but . . . From this auspicious hour, even to the end of time, or until the great object of the amicable separation of the two races shall have been fully effected, may others spring up to take your places, and to tread in your steps. And, finally, invoking on this great and good cause the blessings of that God without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, and whose smiles, I believe, have hitherto been extended to it, I bid you a cordial farewell."

At the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1851, Mr. Clay, still its President, made the last speech that he was ever destined to

make to the society. He was almost the only survivor of all who, thirty five years before, had contributed to the formation of the society; and his stay among the living was now short, for he died in June of the following year. In this speech he approved highly of a line of steamers to Liberia on behalf of the interests of Colonization, and said that in his opinion—"the Constitution of the United States grants ample authority for the performance of this common benefit of the country," which sentiment was applauded by the audience.

Mr. Webster expressed himself willing, as we have before stated, to appropriate almost any amount of the public money for the purpose of African Colonization; and in the last days of his life, which were sadly overclouded and disturbed by concern for his country, he shewed a marked interest in its success.

Mr. Clay, in his address already alluded to, made the following emphatic declaration. "I have said and said recently upon another occasion, what I sincerely believe, that of all the projects of the existing age, the scheme of colonization of the African race upon the shores of Africa is the greatest."

He still farther added—"Gentlemen, I have thought and I said, that if there ever was a scheme presented to the consideration and acceptance of men which in all its parts, when analyzed and reduced to all its elements, presents nothing but commendation, it is the scheme of African Colonization."

"As it respects the free people of color, therefore, nothing but good, and unmixed good, can result from their separation from a community with which, in spite of all the philosophers of Europe and America, from the nature of our feelings and prejudices if you please, they never can be incorporated and stand on an equal platform."

Edward Everett has fully endorsed these sentiments of Henry Clay with his own opinions.

President Humphrey of Amherst College wrote on this subject as follows:—"By giving different constitutions and complexions to great branches of the human family, God evidently intended that they should be kept separate. The unhappy state of things in the United States has grown out of the enormously wicked infringement of this divine allotment. The black man never ought to have been brought to America. They do not belong here, God gave them a better home in Africa."

We have no very high estimate of the opinions of Horace Greeley on any subject whatever, for where one exhibits so little adherence to principle as he has done, it is of but little consequence what his opinions are; but still, we add his testimony for what it is worth. A writer for the N. Y. Tribune in 1851, (doubtless Mr. Greeley,) says: "But while it is clear that all citizens should be equal before the law, it does not follow that it is best that Blacks and Whites, Malays and Choctaws, Moors and Chinese, should be mixed up in the same community. We think it *not* best, but conducive to many social and moral evils; the majority of our people still more decidedly think so."

Thomas Jefferson said,—"nothing is more surely written in the book of fate than that these people will sometime be free, and being free, that the two races cannot live together on a footing of equality."

We might add still farther testimony from other leading white men of the country, but we will now bring forward the evidence of black men.

Governor Russwurm of the Maryland Colony in Africa, who was at one time opposed to the Colonization Society, subsequently changed his views, and came to express himself as follows: "We have carefully examined the different plans now in operation for our benefit, and none, we believe, can reach half so efficiently the mass as the plan of Colonization on the Coast of Africa."

Rev. R. E. Murray, a colored emigrant from Charleston South Carolina, writing from Liberia in 1843, said: "I care not what any man, or any party of men may say about their friendly feelings for people of color in the United states; all I ask is this—is he or they friendly to the cause of Colonization? If the reply is in the negative, there exists no true friendship in their bosom for the colored race."

Dr. J. S. Smith, a colored physician who was educated in Pittsfield, Mass., wrote from Liberia, Dec. 2nd, 1851, as follows: "I believe, sir, that Africans will never be respected *as men* until Africa maintains a respectable standing among the nations of the earth."

A colored man writing for the Tribune in 1851, to use his own words, is "driven to the conclusion that the friendly and mutual separation of the two races is not only necessary to the peace, happiness and prosperity of both, but indispensable to the preservation of one and the glory of the other."

Such evidence as this from black men might be multiplied from the very first days of the colony down to the present time, and more if it is needed.

We pass now to a series of resolutions which were recommended by a joint select committee of the Legislature of Connecticut at its session of 1852, which embody the true sentiment of our duties and our relations to the negro race, and which, we think, ought to govern the policy of the country in that respect. These resolutions are admirably expressed and read as follows:

Resolved, That as Americans, we owe a debt to Africa, and to her oppressed and injured children, whether in this or other lands, which we should endeavor to discharge with all fidelity in all suitable ways.

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society happily unites Christian philanthropy and political expediency—our obligations to the Union and to God; and that its principles and operations are most benevolent, not only towards our colored population, but towards both races in this country, and towards two quarters of the globe.

Resolved, That this assembly recognize with gratitude, the hand of God in the past success and growing interest manifested in behalf of this cause.

From these resolutions we pass to those which were adopted by the Legislature of Vermont at its session of 1851, in favor of a line of steamers between the United States and Liberia, but it is unnecessary to repeat them; it is sufficient to say that in our opinion the legislature of the state has never passed a wiser or better set of resolutions, or one that does it more honor for sound philanthropy and pure, exalted statesmanship. They were a happy inspiration of the earnest, practical republican character of the State, amidst the difficult circumstances in which the country was then placed from the presence of the African element of our population.

The state could never offer a more disinterested, peaceful, less politic or less selfish means of adjusting our national difficulties than those recommended by these resolutions. And the question arises whether it is wise in us to forget them so soon, and let them stand as dead letters in the statute book, as if they had never been adopted. To neglect the teachings of the past, and draw no rules from them for our future guidance, to enact laws and pass resolutions merely to express the fleeting ideas of the day, and not draw from them direction, purpose, and aim for our public life, is to live merely in the present, to be "like dumb, driven cattle" impelled only by

the necessities of the occasion as they arise, without thought or reflection. It is to be the mere sport of party passion without any serious plan or design, and to leave the interests of society to a course of accident and hazard. The sentiments and spirit of those resolutions of 1851, are as true and forcible now as they were then, and our character as a reasoning, reliable people, bound by our own acts, require, of us our earnest efforts to effect as far as possible their execution. It should never be said nor permitted that our legislators pass resolutions on great questions of state policy for mere transient effect, without intending to carry them out.

Our statute books should never be desecrated to such a purpose. For if they are, then that republican government of which we boast so highly, and to enjoy which, we retain the negro in our midst, is destined but for a short duration.

Your delegation in Congress for the last ten years have been very delicate, as it appears to us, very soft and glove handed towards the slaveholder, have shewn a great willingness to conciliate *him*, when it was his part to conciliate the laboring men of the North, upon whom he has so long sought to inflict the premeditated insult of disgracing labor—your delegation have been so exceedingly conciliating to the slaveholder as even to forego in his behalf the execution of the most solemn laws of the Republic, thus hazarding the very life of the nation in his favor; but how much better would it have been, even on the score of conciliation, if they had adopted the spirit of these resolutions of your legislature as their guide, and based their efforts at conciliation, not on the grounds of annulling the law, but on the high, philanthropic grounds of the colonization of Liberia with our African population, to which the whole South stand committed, and where they must have met us, on their manhood and sincerity, at least half way, in a spirit of unity, conciliation and concord?

As a proof of what the real sentiments of the South are on this subject, we here give the opinions of the leading states, Virginia and Kentucky. The opinions of Kentucky were truly expressed by Mr. Robinson in an address to the Colonization Society of that state in 1849, who said that "the almost universal feeling of the people is against emancipation without removal."

At the annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Virginia in 1851, Mr. Tazewell Taylor moved the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the scheme of colonization, originating in the Legislature of 1776, and sustained by six succeeding legislatures, and by the authority of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall, is entitled to be regarded as a measure of Virginia policy having high claims to the confidence of all Virginians."

In conclusion we would be permitted to say that the State of Vermont has some reason to be proud of the agency which it has thus far lent in the cause of African Colonization. The lamented Ashmun who taught the colonists the use of arms, and under whose heroic leadership they were first enabled to gain an assured foothold upon the soil of Western Africa against the assaults of the native barbarians, was a graduate of our University at Burlington, and for sometime a resident of that city previous to his going to Africa. The state has contributed more funds for the support of colonization in proportion to the number of its inhabitants than the rest of the Union, *per capita*; and it has the enviable honor of being the first among all the states to establish a State Colonization Society, the society whose members we are now addressing, having been established in 1819, three years after the organization of the National Colonization Society. The establishment of the College of Liberia is greatly due to the efforts of our fellow statesman the Rev. Dr. Tracy. Let us hope that the honor thus won by the state may still be maintained, and that she may continue to be first and foremost in forwarding the work to which her citizens have thus far given such effective aid. The best and most suitable return that we can make to the African for his long years of unrequited toil in our behalf, is indeed to secure to him political rights and equal social, civil and religious liberties, not here in the United States, but in the more genial native land of his race.